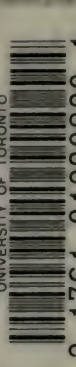

Kay-Shuttleworth, (Sir) James Philips
The moral and physical condition of the working classes employed in the cotton manufacture in Manchester

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-Shuttleworth (Sir) James Phillips

THE

MORAL AND PHYSICAL CONDITION

OF THE

WORKING CLASSES

EMPLOYED IN THE

COTTON MANUFACTURE IN MANCHESTER.

"Many schemes of amelioration are at all times afloat. We hold, that without the growth of popular intelligence and virtue, they will, every one of them, be ineffectual."

CHALMERS' POLITICAL ECONOMY.

BY

JAMES PHILLIPS KAY, M. D.

LONDON:

JAMES RIDGWAY, NO. 169, PICCADILLY.

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MANY events have concurred to impress the public mind with a sense of the importance of minutely investigating the state of the working classes. The statistical evidence contained in this pamphlet, is offered as a humble contribution to the fund of information concerning the moral and physical condition of the poor throughout the kingdom. *We carefully avoid instituting any comparison.* Were similar investigations made in other large towns, we fear that it would be discovered, that not a few exist, with which Manchester might be very favourably compared.

The evils here unreservedly exposed, so far from being the necessary consequences of the manufacturing system, have a remote or accidental origin, and might, *by judicious management,* be entirely removed. Nor do they flow from any single source: and, especially in the present state of trade, the hours of labour cannot be materially diminished, without occasioning the most serious commercial embarrassment. We exhibit a frightful picture of the consequences

of injudicious legislation. The evils of a restricted commerce affect not the capitalist alone: for the working classes are reserved the bitterest dregs of the poisoned chalice.

To the stranger, it is also necessary to observe, that the investigations on whose results the conclusions of this pamphlet are founded, were of necessity conducted *in the township of Manchester only;* and that the inhabitants of a great part of the adjacent townships are in a condition superior to that described in these pages. The most respectable portion of the operative population has, we think, a tendency to avoid the central districts of Manchester, and to congregate in the suburbal townships.

MORAL AND PHYSICAL

CONDITION

OF THE WORKING CLASSES,

&c.

SELF-KNOWLEDGE, inculcated by the maxim of the ancient philosopher, is a precept not less appropriate to societies than to individuals. The physical and moral evils by which we are personally surrounded, may be more easily avoided when we are distinctly conscious of their existence, and the virtue and health of society may be preserved, with less difficulty, when we are acquainted with the sources of its errors and diseases.

The sensorium of the animal structure, to which converge the sensibilities of each organ, is endowed with a consciousness of every change in the sensations to which each member is liable; and few diseases are so subtle as to escape its delicate perceptive power. Pain thus reveals to us the existence of evils, which, unless arrested in their progress, might insidiously invade the sources of vital action.

Society were well preserved, did a similar faculty preside, with an equal sensibility, over its constitution; making every order immediately conscious of

the evils affecting any portion of the general mass, and thus rendering their removal equally necessary for the immediate ease, as it is for the ultimate welfare, of the whole social system. The mutual dependance of the individual members of society and of its various orders, for the supply of their necessities and the gratification of their desires, is acknowledged, and it imperfectly compensates for the want of a faculty, resembling that pervading consciousness which presides over the animal economy. But a knowledge of the moral and physical evils oppressing one order of the community, is by these means slowly communicated to those which are remote; and general efforts are seldom made for the relief of partial ills, until they threaten to convulse the whole social constitution.

Some governments have attempted to obtain, by specific measures, that knowledge for the acquisition of which there is no natural faculty. The statistical investigations of Prussia, of the Netherlands, of Sweden, and of France, concerning population, labour, and its commercial and agricultural results; the existing resources of the country, its taxation, finance, &c. are minute and accurate. The economist may, however, still regret, that many most interesting subjects of inquiry are neglected, and that the reports of these governments fail to give a perfect portraiture of the features of each individual part of the social body. Their system, imperfect though it be, is greatly superior to any yet intro-

duced into this country. Here, statistics are neglected; and when any emergency demands a special inquiry, information is obtained by means of committees of the Commons, whose labours are so multifarious, as to afford them time for little else than the investigation of general conclusions, derived from the experience of those supposed to be most conversant with the subject. An approximation to truth may thus be made, but the results are never so minutely accurate as those obtained from statistical investigations; and, as they are generally deduced from a comparison of opposing testimonies, and sometimes from partial evidence, they frequently utterly fail in one most important respect, viz.—in convincing the public of the facts which they proclaim.

The introduction into this country of a singularly malignant contagious malady, which, though it selects its victims from every order of society, is chiefly propagated amongst those whose health is depressed by disease, mental anxiety, or want of the comforts and conveniences of life, has directed public attention to an investigation of the state of the poor. In Manchester, Boards of Health were established, in each of the fourteen districts of Police, for the purpose of minutely inspecting the state of the houses and streets. These districts were divided into minute sections, to each of which, two or more inspectors were appointed from among the most respectable inhabitants of the vicinity, and they were provided

with tabular queries, applying to each particular house and street. Individual exceptions only exist, in which minute returns were not furnished to the Special Board: and as the investigation was prompted equally by the demands of benevolence, of personal security, and of the general welfare, the results may be esteemed as accurate as the nature of the investigation would permit. The other facts contained in this pamphlet have been obtained from the public offices of the town, or are the results of the author's personal observation.

The township of Manchester chiefly consists of dense masses of houses, inhabited by the population engaged in the great manufactories of the cotton trade. Some of the central divisions are occupied by warehouses and shops, and a few streets by the dwellings of some of the more wealthy inhabitants; but the opulent merchants chiefly reside in the country, and even the superior servants of their establishments inhabit the suburbal townships. Manchester, properly so called, is chiefly inhabited by shopkeepers and the labouring classes. Those districts where the poor dwell are of very recent origin. The rapid growth of the cotton manufacture has attracted hither operatives from every part of the kingdom, and Ireland has poured forth the most destitute of her hordes to supply the constantly increasing demand for labour. This immigration has been, in one important respect, a serious evil. The Irish have taught the labouring classes of this country

a pernicious lesson. The system of cottier farming, the demoralization and barbarism of the people, and the general use of the potato as the chief article of food, have encouraged the population in Ireland more rapidly than the *available* means of subsistence have been increased. Debased alike by ignorance and pauperism, they have discovered, with the savage, what is the minimum of the means of life, upon which existence may be prolonged. They have taught this fatal secret to the population of this country. As competition and the restrictions and burdens of trade diminished the profits of capital, and consequently reduced the price of labour, the contagious example of ignorance and a barbarous disregard of forethought and economy, exhibited by the Irish, spread. The colonization of savage tribes has ever been attended with effects on civilization as fatal as those which have marked the progress of the sand flood over the fertile plains of Egypt. Instructed in the fatal secret of subsisting on what is barely necessary to life, the labouring classes have ceased to entertain a laudable pride in furnishing their houses, and in multiplying the decent comforts which minister to happiness. What is superfluous to the mere exigencies of nature, is too often expended at the tavern; and for the provision of old age and infirmity, they too frequently trust either to charity, to the support of their children, or to the protection of the poor laws.

When this example is considered in connexion

with the unremitted labour of the whole population engaged in the various branches of the cotton manufacture, our wonder will be less excited by their fatal demoralization. Prolonged and exhausting labour, continued from day to day, and from year to year, is not calculated to develop the intellectual or moral faculties of man. The dull routine of a ceaseless drudgery, in which the same mechanical process is incessantly repeated, resembles the torment of Sisyphus —the toil, like the rock, recoils perpetually on the wearied operative. The mind gathers neither stores nor strength from the constant extension and retraction of the same muscles. The intellect slumbers in supine inertness; but the grosser parts of our nature attain a rank development. To condemn man to such severity of toil is, in some measure, to cultivate in him the habits of an animal. He becomes reckless. He disregards the distinguishing appetites and habits of his species. He neglects the comforts and delicacies of life. He lives in squalid wretchedness, on meagre food, and expends his superfluous gains in debauchery.

The population employed in the cotton factories rises at five o'clock in the morning, works in the mills from six till eight o'clock, and returns home for half an hour or forty minutes to breakfast. This meal generally consists of tea or coffee with a little bread. Oatmeal porridge is sometimes, but of late rarely used, and chiefly by the men; but the stimulus of tea is preferred, and especially by the women.

The tea is almost always of a bad, and sometimes of a deleterious quality, the infusion is weak, and little or no milk is added. The operatives return to the mills and workshops until twelve o'clock, when an hour is allowed for dinner. Amongst those who obtain the lower rates of wages this meal generally consists of boiled potatoes. The mess of potatoes is put into one large dish; melted lard and butter are poured upon them, and a few pieces of fried fat bacon are sometimes mingled with them, and but seldom a little meat. Those who obtain better wages, or families whose aggregate income is larger, add a greater proportion of animal food to this meal, at least three times in the week; but the quantity consumed by the labouring population is not great. The family sits round the table, and each rapidly appropriates his portion on a plate, or, they all plunge their spoons into the dish, and with an animal eagerness satisfy the cravings of their appetite. At the expiration of the hour, they are all again employed in the workshops or mills, where they continue until seven o'clock or a later hour, when they generally again indulge in the use of tea, often mingled with spirits accompanied by a little bread. Oatmeal or potatoes are however taken by some a second time in the evening.

The comparatively innutritious qualities of these articles of diet are most evident. We are, however, by no means prepared to say that an individual living in a healthy atmosphere, and engaged in active employment in the open air, would not be able to

continue protracted and severe labour, without any suffering, whilst nourished by this food. We should rather be disposed on the contrary to affirm, that any ill effects must necessarily be so much diminished, that, from the influence of habit, and the benefits derived from the constant inhalation of an uncontaminated atmosphere, during healthy exercise in agricultural pursuits, few if any evil results would ensue. But the population nourished on this aliment is crowded into one dense mass, in cottages separated by narrow, unpaved, and almost pestilential streets; in an atmosphere loaded with the smoke and exhalations of a large manufacturing city. The operatives are congregated in rooms and workshops during twelve hours in the day, in an enervating, heated atmosphere, which is frequently loaded with dust or filaments of cotton, or impure from constant respiration, or from other causes. They are engaged in an employment which absorbs their attention, and unremittingly employs their physical energies.* They are drudges who watch the movements, and assist the operations, of a mighty material force, which toils with an energy ever unconscious of fatigue. The persevering labour of the operative must rival the mathematical precision, the incessant motion, and the exhaustless power of the machine.

* A gentleman, whose opinions on these subjects command universal respect, suggests to me, that the intensity of this application is exceedingly increased by the system of paying, not for time, but according to the result of labour.

Hence, besides the negative results—the total abstraction of every moral and intellectual stimulus—the absence of variety—banishment from the grateful air and the cheering influences of light, the physical energies are exhausted by incessant toil, and imperfect nutrition. Having been subjected to the prolonged labour of an animal—his physical energy wasted—his mind in supine inaction—the artizan has neither moral dignity nor intellectual nor organic strength to resist the seductions of appetite. His wife and children, too frequently subjected to the same process, are unable to cheer his remaining moments of leisure. Domestic economy is neglected, domestic comforts are unknown. A meal of the coarsest food is prepared with heedless haste, and devoured with equal precipitation. Home has no other relation to him than that of shelter—few pleasures are there—it chiefly presents to him a scene of physical exhaustion, from which he is glad to escape. Himself impotent of all the distinguishing aims of his species, he sinks into sensual sloth, or revels in more degrading licentiousness. His house is ill furnished, uncleanly, often ill ventilated, perhaps damp; his food, from want of forethought and domestic economy, is meagre and innutritious; he is debilitated and hypochondriacal, and falls the victim of dissipation.

These artizans are frequently subject to a disease, in which the sensibility of the stomach and bowels is morbidly excited; the alvine secretions are de-

ranged, and the appetite impaired. Whilst this state continues, the patient loses flesh, his features are sharpened, the skin becomes pale, leaden coloured, or of the yellow hue which is observed in those who have suffered from the influence of tropical climates. The strength fails, all the capacities of physical enjoyment are destroyed, and the paroxysms of corporeal suffering are aggravated by the horrors of a disordered imagination, till they lead to gloomy apprehension, to the deepest depression, and almost to despair. We cannot wonder that the wretched victim of this disease, invited by those haunts of misery and crime the gin shop and the tavern, as he passes to his daily labour, should endeavour to cheat his suffering of a few moments, by the false excitement procured by ardent spirits; or that the exhausted artizan, driven by ennui and discomfort from his squalid home, should strive, in the delirious dreams of a continued debauch, to forget the remembrance of his reckless improvidence, of the destitution, hunger, and uninterrupted toil, which threaten to destroy the remaining energies of his enfeebled constitution.

The contagious example which the Irish have exhibited of barbarous habits and savage want of economy, united with the necessarily debasing consequences of uninterrupted toil, have demoralized the people.

The inspection conducted by the District Boards of Health chiefly referred to the state of the streets and

houses, inhabited by the labouring population—to local nuisances, and more general evils. The greatest portion of these districts, especially of those situated beyond Great Ancoats-street, are of very recent origin; and from the want of proper police regulations are untraversed by common sewers. The houses are ill soughed, often ill ventilated, unprovided with privies, and in consequence, the streets which are narrow, unpaved, and worn into deep ruts, become the common receptacles of mud, refuse, and disgusting ordure.

The Inspectors' reports do not comprise all the houses and streets of the respective districts, and are in some other respects imperfect. The returns concerning the various defects which they enumerate must be received, as the reports of evils too positive to be overlooked. Frequently, when they existed in a slighter degree, the questions received no reply.

Predisposition to contagious disease is encouraged by every thing which depresses the physical energies, amongst the principal of which agencies may be enumerated imperfect nutrition; exposure to cold and moisture, whether from inadequate shelter, or from want of clothing and fuel, or from dampness of the habitation; uncleanliness of the person, the street, and the abode; an atmosphere contaminated, whether from the want of ventilation, or from impure effluvia; extreme labour, and consequent physical exhaustion; intemperance; fear; anxiety; diarrhœa, and other diseases. The whole of these

subjects could not be included in the investigation, though it originated in a desire to remove, as far as possible, those ills which depressed the health of the population. The list of inquiries to which the inspectors were requested to make tabular replies is subjoined, for the purpose of enabling the reader to form his own opinion of the investigation from which the classified results are deduced.

The state of the streets powerfully affects the

TABLE No. 1.

INQUIRIES CONCERNING THE STATE OF HOUSES.

District No.

Name of Street, Court, &c.	*No.*	*No.*	*Name of Street, Court, &c.*	*No.*	*No.*
1. Is the House in good Repair?			12. Is a private privy attached to the house?		
2. Is it clean?			13. Will the tenants assist in cleansing the streets and houses?		
3. Does it require Whitewashing?					
4. Are the rooms well ventilated, or can they be without change in windows, &c.			14. Will they allow the Town's Authorities to whitewash them, if they cannot conveniently do it themselves?		
5. Is the house damp, or dry?			15. Are the tenants generally healthy or not?		
6. Are the cellars inhabited?			16. What is their occupation?		
7. Are these inhabited cellars damp or ever flooded?					
8. Are the soughs in a bad state?			17. Remarks concerning food, clothing, and fuel.		
9. Who is the proprietor?					
10. What number of families or lodgers does the house contain?			18. Habits of life.		
11. What is the state of the beds, closets, and furniture?			19. General observations.		

health of their inhabitants. Sporadic cases of typhus chiefly appear in those which are narrow, ill ventilated, unpaved, or which contain heaps of refuse, or stagnant pools. The confined air and noxious exhalations, which abound in such places, depress the health of the people, and on this account contagious diseases are also most rapidly propagated there. The operation of these causes is exceedingly promoted by their reflex influence on the manners. The houses, in such situations, are uncleanly, ill provided with furniture; an air of discomfort if not of squalid and loathsome wretchedness pervades them, they are often dilapidated, badly drained, damp; and the habits of their tenants are gross—they are ill-fed, ill-clothed, and uneconomical—at once spendthrifts and destitute —denying themselves the comforts of life, in order that they may wallow in the unrestrained licence of animal

TABLE No. 2.

INQUIRIES CONCERNING THE STATE OF STREETS, COURTS, ALLEYS, &c.

District No. *Inspectors,*

Names of Streets, Courts, Alleys, &c. &c.	*Name*	*Name*	*Name*
Is the street, court, or alley narrow, and is it ill ventilated?			
Is it paved or not?			
If not, is it under the Police Act?			
Does it contain heaps of refuse, pools of stagnant fluid, or deep ruts?			
Are the public and private privies well situated, and properly attended to?			
Is the street, court, or alley, near a canal, river, brook, or marshy land?			
General Observations.			

appetite. An intimate connexion subsists, among the poor, between the cleanliness of the street and that of the house and person. Uneconomical habits, and dissipation are almost inseparably allied; and they are so frequently connected with uncleanliness, that we cannot consider their concomitance as altogether accidental. The first step to recklessness may often be traced in a neglect of that self-respect, and of the love of domestic enjoyments, which are indicated by personal slovenliness, and discomfort of the habitation. Hence, the importance of providing by police regulations or general enactment, against those fertile sources alike of disease and demoralization, presented by the gross neglect of the streets and habitations of the poor. When the health is depressed by the concurrence of these causes, contagious diseases spread with a fatal malignancy among the population subjected to their influence. The records* of the Fever Hospital of Manchester, prove that typhus *prevails almost exclusively* in such situations.

The following table, arranged by the Committee of Association appointed by the Special Board of Health, from the reports of Inspectors of the various District Boards of Manchester, shows the extent to which the imperfect state of the streets of Manchester may tend to promote demoralization and disease among the poor.

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* Abundant evidence of this fact was collected by Mr. Wallis, lately House Surgeon to the House of Recovery.

No. of District.	No. of streets inspected.	No. of streets unpaved.	No. of streets partially pvd.	No. of streets ill ventilated.	No. of streets containing heaps of refuse, stagnant pools, ordure, &c.
1	114	63	13	7	64
2	180	93	7	23	92
3	49	2	2	12	28
4	66	37	10	12	52
5	30	2	5	5	12
6	2	1	0	1	2
7	53	13	5	12	17
8	16	2	1	2	7
9	48	0	0	9	20
10	29	19	0	10	23
11	0	0	0	0	0
12	12	0	1	1	4
13	55	3	9	10	23
14	33	13	0	8	8
Total ..	687	248	53	112	352

A minute inspection of this table will render the extent of the evil affecting the poor more apparent. Those districts which are almost exclusively inhabited by the labouring population are Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 10. Nos. 13 and 14, and 7, also contain, besides the dwellings of the operatives, those of shopkeepers and tradesmen, and are traversed by many of the principal thoroughfares. No. 11 was not inspected, and Nos. 5, 6, 8, and 9, are the central districts containing the chief streets, the most respectable shops, the dwellings of the more wealthy inhabitants, and the warehouses of merchants and manufacturers. Subtracting therefore from the various totals those items in the reports which concern these divisions only, we discover in those districts which contain a large proportion of poor, namely, in Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 13, and 14, that among 579 streets inspected, 243 were altogether unpaved—46 partially paved—

93 ill ventilated—and 307 contained heaps of refuse, deep ruts, stagnant pools, ordure, &c.; and in the districts which are almost exclusively inhabited by the poor, namely, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 10, among 438 streets inspected, 214 were altogether unpaved—32 partially paved—63 ill ventilated—and 259 contained heaps of refuse, deep ruts, stagnant pools, ordure, &c.

The replies to the questions proposed in the second table relating to houses, contain equally remarkable results, which have been carefully arranged by the Classification Committee of the Special Board of Health, as follows.

District.	No. of houses inspected.	No. of houses reported as requiring whitewashing	No. of houses reported as requiring repair	No. of houses in which the soughs wanted repair.	No. of houses damp.	No. of houses reported as ill ventilated.	No. of houses wanting privies.
1	850	399	128	112	177	70	326
2	2489	898	282	145	497	109	755
3	213	145	104	41	61	52	96
4	650	279	106	105	134	69	250
5	413	176	82	70	101	11	66
6	12	3	5	5			5
7	343	76	59	57	86	21	79
8	132	35	30	39	48	22	20
9	128	34	32	24	39	19	25
10	370	195	53	123	54	2	232
11							
12	113	33	23	27	24	16	52
13	757	218	44	108	146	54	177
14	481	74	13	83	68	7	138
Total..	6951	2565	960	939	1435	452	2221

It is however to be lamented, that even these numerical results fail to exhibit a perfect picture of the ills which are suffered by the poor. The replies to the questions contained in the inspectors' table refer only to cases of the most positive kind, and the

numerical results would therefore have been exceedingly increased, had they embraced those in which the evils existed in a scarcely inferior degree. Some idea of the want of cleanliness prevalent in their habitations, may be obtained from the report of the number of houses requiring whitewashing; but this column fails to indicate their gross neglect of order, and absolute filth. Much less can we obtain satisfactory statistical results concerning the want of furniture, especially of bedding, and of food, clothing, and fuel. In these respects the habitations of the Irish are most destitute. They can scarcely be said to be furnished. They contain one or two chairs, a mean table, the most scanty culinary apparatus, and one or two beds, loathsome with filth. A whole family is often accommodated on a single bed, and sometimes a heap of filthy straw and a covering of old sacking hide them in one undistinguished heap, debased alike by penury, want of economy, and dissolute habits. Frequently, the inspectors found two or more families crowded into one small house, containing only two apartments, one in which they slept, and another in which they eat; and often more than one family lived in a damp cellar, containing only one room, in whose pestilential atmosphere from twelve to sixteen persons were crowded. To these fertile sources of disease were sometimes added the keeping of pigs and other animals in the house, with other nuisances of the most revolting character.

As the visits of the inspectors were made in the

day, when the population is engaged in the mills, and the vagrants and paupers are wandering through the town, they could not form any just idea of the state of the pauper lodging houses. The establishments thus designated are fertile sources of disease and demoralization. They are frequently able to accommodate from twenty to thirty or more lodgers, among whom are the most abandoned characters, who, reckless of the morrow, resort thither for the shelter of the night—men who find safety in a constant change of abode, or are too uncertain in their pursuits to remain beneath the same roof for a longer period. Here, without distinction of age or sex, careless of all decency, they are crowded in small and wretched apartments; the same bed receiving a succession of tenants until too offensive even for their unfastidious senses. The Special Board being desirous that these lodging houses should be inspected by the Overseers, the Churchwardens obtained a report of the number in each district, which cannot fail to be a source of surprise and apprehension.

PAUPER LODGING HOUSES.

	No. of houses.		*No. of houses.*
District No. 1	0	District No. 9	0
2	108	10	12
3	51	11	26
4	0	12	—
5	6	13	60
6	0	14	1
7	3		
8	0		267

The temporary tenants of these disgusting abodes, too frequently debased by vice, haunted by want,

and every other consequence of crime, are peculiarly disposed to the reception of contagion. Their asylums are frequently recesses where it lurks, and they are active agents in its diffusion. They ought to be as much the objects of a careful vigilance from those who are the guardians of the health, as from those who protect the property of the public.

In some districts of the town exist evils so remarkable as to require more minute description. A portion of low, swampy ground, liable to be frequently inundated, and to constant exhalation, is included between a high bank over which the Oxford Road passes, and a bend of the river Medlock, where its course is impeded by weirs. This unhealthy spot lies so low that the chimneys of its houses, some of them three stories high, are little above the level of the road. About two hundred of these habitations are crowded together in an extremely narrow space, and are inhabited by the lowest Irish. Most of these houses have also cellars, whose floor is scarcely elevated above the level of the water flowing in the Medlock. The soughs are destroyed, or out of repair: and these narrow abodes are in consequence always damp, and on the slightest rise in the river, which is a frequent occurrence, are flooded to the depth of several inches. This district has been frequently the haunt of hordes of thieves and desperadoes who defied the law, and is always inhabited by a class resembling savages in their appetites and habits. It is surrounded on every side by some of the largest factories

of the town, whose chimneys vomit forth dense clouds of smoke, which hang heavily over this insalubrious region.

The subjoined document resulted from an inspection made by a Special Sub-committee of Members of the Board of Health, and the signatures of the gentlemen forming that Sub-committee were appended to it.*

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*TO THE MAGISTRATES OF THE DISTRICT.

GENTLEMEN,

The undersigned having been deputed by the Special Board of Health to inquire into the state of Little Ireland, beg to report that in the main street and courts abutting, the sewers are all in a most wretched state, and quite inadequate to carry off the surface water, not to mention the slops thrown down by the inhabitants in about two hundred houses.

The privies are in a most disgraceful state, inaccessible from filth, and too few for the accommodation of the number of people —the average number being two to two hundred and fifty people. The upper rooms are, with few exceptions, very dirty, and the cellars much worse; all damp, and some occasionally overflowed. The cellars consist of two rooms on a floor each nine to ten feet square, some inhabited by ten persons, others by more: in many, the people have no beds, and keep each other warm by close stowage on shavings, straw, &c.; a change of linen or clothes is an exception to the common practice. Many of the back rooms where they sleep have no other means of ventilation than from the front rooms.

Some of the cellars on the lower ground were once filled up as uninhabitable; but one is now occupied by a weaver, and he has stopped up the drain with clay, to prevent the water flowing from it into his cellar, and mops up the water every morning.

Near the centre of the town, a mass of buildings inhabited by prostitutes and thieves, is intersected by narrow and loathsome streets, and close courts defiled with refuse. These nuisances exist in No. 13 District, on the western side of Deansgate, and chiefly abound in Wood-street, Spinning Field, Cumberland-street, Parliament Passage, Parliament-street, and Thomson-street. In Parliament-street there is only one privy for three hundred and eighty inhabitants, which is placed in a narrow passage, whence its effluvia infest the adjacent houses, and must prove a most fertile source of disease. In this street also, cess pools with open grids have been

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We conceive it will be impossible effectually to remove the evils enumerated; and offer the following suggestions with a view to their partial amelioration.

First, to open up the main sewer from the bottom, and to relay it.

Secondly, to open and unchoke the lateral drains, and secure a regular discharge of the water, &c., into the main sewer.

Thirdly, to enforce the weekly cleansing and purification of the privies.

Fourthly, if practicable, to fill up the cellars.

Fifthly, to provide the inhabitants with quicklime, and induce them to whitewash their rooms, where it can be done with safety.

Sixthly, if possible, to induce the inhabitants to observe greater cleanliness in their houses and persons.

In conclusion, we are decidedly of opinion that should Cholera visit this neighbourhood, a more suitable soil and situation for its malignant development cannot be found than that described and commonly known by the name of Little Ireland.

made, close to the doors of the houses, in which disgusting refuse accumulates, and whence its noxious effluvia constantly exhale. In Parliament Passage about thirty houses have been erected, merely separated by an extremely narrow passage (a yard and a half wide) from the wall and back door of other houses. These thirty houses have one privy.

The state of the streets and houses in that part of No. 4 included between Store-street and Travis-street, and London Road, is exceedingly wretched—especially those built on some irregular and broken mounds of clay, on a steep declivity descending into Store Street. These narrow avenues are rough, irregular gullies, down which filthy streams percolate; and the inhabitants are crowded in dilapidated abodes, or obscure and damp cellars, in which it is impossible for the health to be preserved.

Unwilling to weary the patience of the reader by extending such disgusting details, it may suffice to refer generally to the wretched state of the habitations of the poor in Clay-street, and the lower portion of Pot-street; in Providence-street, and its adjoining courts; in Back Portugal-street;—to a flagrant example of the *"barrack system" "in Cotton-street, (No. 27,) a lofty building of six stories,

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* Dr. Lyon on the Medical Topography and Statistics of Manchester.—*North of England Medical and Surgical Journal*, vol. i. page 16.

occupied by at least twelve families of weavers,"—"to a place called Gibraltar, near Scotland Bridge,"—and to the state of almost the whole of that mass of cottages filling the insalubrious valley through which the Irk flows, and which is denominated Irish town.

The houses of the poor, especially throughout the whole of the Districts Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, are too generally built back to back, having therefore only one outlet, no yard, no privy, and no receptacle of refuse. Consequently the narrow, unpaved streets, in which mud and water stagnate, become the common receptacles of offal and ordure. Often low, damp, ill ventilated cellars exist beneath the houses; an improvement on which system, consists in the erection of a stage over the first story, by which access is obtained to the second, and the house is inhabited by two separate families. More than one disgraceful example of this might be enumerated. The streets, in the districts where the poor reside, are generally unsewered, and the drainage is consequently superficial. The houses are often built with a total neglect of order, on the summit of natural irregularities of the surface, or on mounds left at the side of artificial excavations on the brick grounds, with which these parts of the town abound.

These districts are inhabited by a turbulent population, which, rendered reckless by dissipation and want,—misled by the secret intrigues, and excited

by the inflammatory harangues of demagogues, has frequently committed daring assaults on the liberty of more peaceful portions of the working classes, and the most frightful devastations on the property of their masters. Machines have been broken, and factories gutted and burned at mid-day, and the riotous crowd has dispersed ere the insufficient body of police arrived at the scene of disturbance. The civic force of the town is totally inadequate to maintain the peace, and to defend property from the attacks of lawless depredators, and *a more efficient, and more numerous corps ought to be immediately organized,* to give power to the law, so often mocked by the daring front of sedition, and outraged by the frantic violence of an ignorant and deluded rabble. The police form, in fact, so weak a screen against the power of the mob, that popular violence is now, in almost every instance, controled by the presence of a military force.

The wages* obtained by operatives in the various branches of the cotton manufacture are, in general, such, as with the exercise of that economy without

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* "The wages are paid weekly, not once a fortnight, or once a month, as is the case in collieries and many other places. The youngest child in the mill earns three shillings per week, and the best female spinner twenty one shillings. The total paid is £356. —averaging nine shillings and three pence per week to each person employed." *Letter to Lord Althorp in Defence of the Cotton Factories of Lancashire.* By Holland Hoole, Esq.

which wealth itself is wasted, would be sufficient to provide them with all the decent comforts of life—the average wages of all persons employed (young and old) being from nine to twelve shillings per week. Their means are consumed by vice and improvidence. But the wages of certain classes are exceedingly meagre. The introduction of the power-loom, though ultimately destined to be productive of the greatest general benefits, has, in the present restricted state of commerce, occasioned some temporary embarrassment, by diminishing the demand for certain kinds of labour, and, consequently, their price. The hand-loom weavers, existing in this state of transition, still continue a very extensive class, and though they labour fourteen hours and upwards daily, earn only from five to seven or eight shillings per week.* They consist chiefly of Irish, and are affected by all the causes of moral and physical depression which we have enumerated. Ill-fed—ill-clothed—half-sheltered and ignorant;—weaving in close, damp cellars, or crowded, ill-ventilated workshops, it only remains that they should become, as is too frequently the case, demoralized and reckless, to render perfect the portraiture of savage life. Amongst men so situated, the moral check has no influence in preventing the rapid in-

* Evidence of Joseph Foster before the Emigration Committee, 1827.

crease of the population. The existence of cheap and redundant labour in the market has, also, a constant tendency to reduce its general price, and hence a just apprehension may be entertained, that these evils, as they tend to increase existing misery, and to promote prevailing vice, will continue as long as the demoralization and ignorance by which they are fostered, and which they have a direct tendency to augment.

The poor laws provide, we fear, too frequently a plea for improvidence and idleness. When reckless of the future, the intelligence of man is confined by the narrow limits of the present. By that step he debases himself beneath the animals whose instincts teach them to lay up stores for the season of need. The artificial structure of society, in providing security against existing evils, has too frequently neglected the remote moral influence of its arrangements on the community. Humanity rejoices in the consciousness, that the poorest may obtain the advantages of skilful care in disease, and succour in want;* that there are asylums for infirmity, age, and decrepitude; but the *unlimited* extension of benefits, devised by a wise intelligence for the relief of evils which no human prescience could elude, has a direct

* See a Paper in The Transactions of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, on the Poor Laws, by John Kennedy, Esq.

tendency to encourage, among the poor, apathy concerning present exigencies, and the neglect of a provision for the contingencies of the future. The effect of this will be favoured by every other demoralizing cause, and will therefore operate most powerfully among those who are most debased.

Impressed with these opinions, we endeavoured to discover whether such statistical facts as might be obtained from the town's offices, tended to prove the concomitance of pauperism with moral and physical degradation. Unfortunately, the distribution of the poor rates is not registered separately for each of the police divisions. We are therefore only able to compare the four sections of the town visited by the overseers. The first and second of these four sections, which we shall denominate the Newtown and the Ancoats Districts, comprise Nos. 1, 2, and 4, and therefore contain almost exclusively poor inhabitants. On the other hand, the third, or central division, besides Nos. 5, 6, 9, and a small part of No. 8, which are inhabited by a great number of shopkeepers and tradesmen, contains also Nos. 10, 11, and 14, which have a very large proportion of poor. The fourth, or Portland-street District, besides Nos. 3, 7, and 13, containing many poor, likewise comprises No. 12, and the greater part of No. 8, in which the poor inhabitants are relatively much less numerous.

We have subjoined a table exhibiting the population of each of the police divisions, according to the

last census, and arranged in the four sections visited by the overseers of the poor, so as to exhibit their relative population.

Newtown.	*Ancoats.*	*Central.*	*Portland Street.*
No. 2.. 25581	No. 1.. 31573	No. 5 .. 7275	No. 3 .. 11431
$\frac{1}{4}$ of 4.. 9337$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{4}{5}$ of 4.. 6225$\frac{1}{5}$	6 .. 1274	7 .. 9784
		9 .. 3318	$\frac{3}{4}$ of 8 .. 2058
		10 .. 3886	12 .. 1859
		11 .. 13635	13 .. 7269
		14 .. 6834	
		$\frac{1}{4}$ of 8 .. 686	
34918$\frac{3}{4}$	37798$\frac{1}{5}$	36908	32401

The cases relieved at the Churchwardens' offices are classed as Irish and English cases: the first consist exclusively of Irish cases *without settlements*, but under the denomination of English cases, are included *all who have obtained settlements, whether English or Irish;* and this class comprises a very great proportion of Irish. We have been enabled, by the liberality of the Churchwardens, and Mr. Gardiner's politeness, to obtain returns of the relative proportion of these cases during the four winter months of the four years from 1827 to 1831 inclusive. The general table is inserted in the appendix,* but from this we have deduced some more minutely classified results, which we conceive strongly to corroborate the opinions which we have hazarded, concerning the origin and growth of pauperism.

The table contained in the Appendix exhibits, in

* See Appendix No. 1.

the first place, an alarming increase of pauperism in the whole township. The total number of *cases* (each representing, on the average, two and a half individuals) relieved in the township, in the months of November, December, January, and February of 1827 and 28, was 30,717, or included 76,792 individual acts of relief, each continued for an indefinite period. This number had, in the same months of 1830-31, increased to 45,842, or, at a period when the population amounted to 142,026, it included 114,605 individual acts of relief, each of which comprised indefinite portions of the four months, or had almost doubled in four years. Supposing these acts to have been administered at all times to different persons, then more than four-fifths of the whole population were relieved for an indefinite portion of the four winter months.

The relative proportion of Irish cases without settlements, and of English and Irish cases with settlements, and their relative increase during these four years, are perhaps still more remarkable.

DISTRICTS.	*Nov. Dec. Jan & Feb. of* 1827-8,		1828-9,		1829-30,		1830-31.	
NEWTOWN.	*Irish.*	*English.*	*Irish.*	*English.*	*Irish.*	*English.*	*Irish.*	*English.*
No. 2 & ⅔ No. 4	1559	6059	1490	5434	3911	8023	4051	9129
ANCOATS.								
No. 1 & ⅔ No. 4	1482	6701	2155	7158	2690	8022	3818	9027
CENTRAL.								
Nos. 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 14, & ¼ No. 8	366	7422	532	7161	742	9668	909	10214
PORTLAND ST.								
Nos. 3, 7, 12, 13, and ¾ of No. 8.	264	6864	577	6974	1186	8591	1114	7580

The proportion of Irish cases *without settlements*, in the Ancoats and Newtown Divisions, containing Nos. 1, 2, and 4, and its relative increase, are exceedingly greater than in the Central and Portland Street Districts; notwithstanding that the number of Irish in these latter sections is much augmented by the inclusion of Nos. 3, 7, 10, and 13.

By the following table, this increase may be more easily compared.

DISTRICTS.	*Nov. Dec. Jan. & Feb. of* 1827-8,		1828-9,		1829-30,		1830-31.	
NEWTOWN AND ANCOATS.	*Irish.* 3041	*English.* 12760	*Irish.* 3645	*English.* 12592	*Irish.* 6601	*English.* 16045	*Irish.* 7869	*English.* 18156
CENTRAL AND PORTLAND ST.	630	14286	1109	14136	1928	18259	2023	17794

The Newtown and Ancoats Districts have always contained a greater proportion of Irish than any other portion of the town; but the increase of pauperism in the Central and Portland Districts, must evidently be ascribed to the recent rapid colonization of Irish in Divisions 3, 7, and 10; since, whilst the Irish cases, having no *settlements*, have increased from 600 to 2,000, or are more than trebled,—the cases having settlements, which have been relieved, have only increased from 14,000 to 17,000, or about two-ninths. In the same period, the rapid relative increase of the Irish cases having *no settlements*, in the Newtown and Ancoats Districts, renders it extremely probable, that the increase of those cases which *have obtained settlements*, is in a great measure to be imputed to the Irish; and that

pauperism, therefore, spreads most rapidly, in an ignorant and demoralized population. These tables also abundantly testify, that pauperism chiefly prevails in those portions of the town, where the sources of moral and physical depression, to which we have alluded, are the most numerous.

The relative proportion of the population to the cases and individuals relieved, in the four Sections visited by the Overseers, is displayed in the following table.

DISTRICTS.	Cases relieved for indefinite periods of the four winter months, 1830-31.	POPULATION.	Individual acts of relief for indefinite periods of time.
NEWTOWN..	13180	34918$\frac{2}{3}$ of which $\frac{2}{5}$=13967$\frac{1}{5}$	32950
ANCOATS....	12890	37798$\frac{1}{3}$ .. $\frac{1}{3}$=12599$\frac{2}{3}$	32225
Total....	26070	72717 .. $\frac{3}{8}$=27143$\frac{7}{8}$	65175
CENTRAL ...	11123	36908 .. $\frac{3}{10}$=11072$\frac{4}{10}$	27807$\frac{1}{2}$
PORTLAND..	8694	32401 .. $\frac{1}{4}$ = 8100	21735
Total....	19817	69309	49542

The following table* shows the relative proportion of cases relieved in the four Overseers' Sections during three portions of the year 1830-31, each containing four months.

DISTRICTS.	Nov. Dec. Jan. Feb.		March, April, May, June.		July, Aug. Sept. Oct.	
	Irish.	*English.*	*Irish*	*English.*	*Irish.*	*English.*
NEWTOWN..	4051	9129	3896	7958	3409	7996
ANCOATS....	3818	9027	3333	7801	3280	8107
CENTRAL ...	909	10214	815	9474	695	9287
PORTLAND..	1114	7580	897	7050	863	7766
	9892	35950	8941	32283	8247	33156

* See Appendix, No. 2.

The population of the township is 142,026; and the acts of parochial relief in one year, each continued through indefinite periods of time, were 321,172, of which acts 67,700 concerned Irish *who had obtained no settlements.*

The sources of vice and physical degradation are allied with the causes of pauperism. Amongst the poor, the most destitute are too frequently the most demoralized—virtue is the surest economy—vice is haunted by profligacy and want. Where there are most paupers, the gin shops, taverns, and beer houses are most numerous. The following table enumerates the taverns of the town. Gin shops are held under the same licence, and are attached to three fourths of these establishments.

NO. OF LICENSED TAVERN AND INNKEEPERS IN THE TOWNSHIP OF MANCHESTER.

No. 1..... 62	No. 6..... 39	No. 11..... 37
2..... 44	7..... 19	12..... 16
3..... 48	8..... 10	13..... 25
4..... 31	9..... 36	14..... 13
5..... 46	10..... 4	
		Total 430

To this number may perhaps be added 322 gin shops. These last establishments especially abound in the poorest and most destitute districts, where their proportion to the taverns is at least four fifths. We were unable to procure, from the officers of excise in Manchester, information concerning the relative proportion of the beer houses in the several divisions of the town; but we are informed by Mr. Shawcross,

of the Police department, that their number is at least three hundred. If we subtract fifty respectable inns, which, however, have generally tap rooms attached to them, one thousand haunts of intemperance exist in Manchester.

The districts 1, 2, 3, and 4, may be conceived to represent most correctly the exclusively labouring population; but in estimating the relative number of all these sources of vice frequented by the population of these districts, it is necessary to include those of the adjoining divisions 5 and 6, where a much smaller proportion of poor resides. The result is, that in Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, there are 270 taverns, 216 gin shops, (estimated as four fifths of taverns,) 188 beer houses, (estimated as being distributed through the divisions of the town in the same ratio as the taverns,) total, 674, or more than two thirds of the whole number of taverns, gin shops, and beer houses of the town, may therefore be considered as chiefly ministering to the vicious propensities of the inhabitants of Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4. Some idea may be formed of the influence of these establishments on the health and morals of the people, from the following statement; for which we are indebted to Mr. Braidley, the Boroughreeve. He observed the number of persons entering a gin shop in five minutes, during eight successive Saturday evenings, and at various periods from seven o'clock until ten. The average result was, 112 men and 163 women, or 275 in forty minutes, which is equal to 412 per hour.

The amount of crime is one chief means of ascertaining the moral condition of a community. To the perfection of this estimate it is, however, essential that crimes committed against the person should be distinguished from those against property. *"The moral guilt of the latter depending considerably upon the equality of the distribution of wealth throughout the country, the degree of ease in which the people live ought also to be brought into view; and when we compare the criminal calendars of different nations, we ought not to omit to refer to their respective modes of administering justice, and to the attention paid in each country to that branch of it which we call preventive. That *prevention* is by far the more important care, in point both of duty and expediency, is a truth which governments are beginning to perceive; though in most countries repression, and in not a few vindictiveness,† still form the spirit of the penal code." "So long as the will of man is free, and it is in his power either to conform to the law, or to violate it, the care of the legislature should be to turn that will into the right channel."

The state of the registers required for an accurate investigation of the amount of crime committed in Manchester, was such as to demand more time in

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* Foreign Quarterly Review, vol. v. p. 404.

† Works of Charles Lucas—*also* "De la Justice de la Prévoyance"—*and* "De la Mission de la Justice Humaine." *Par M. Dupéctiaux.*

their classification, than, under the circumstances in which this pamphlet was prepared, we were able to give the subject. We have obtained, however, an account of the number of persons committed at the New Bailey Court House, Salford, for the different offences under which their commitment is recorded. The amount of crime exhibited in this table results therefore from a much greater population than that contained in the township; the out-townships being also included, or a population of at least 240,000.

	1829	1830	1831	*Total*
Number of Felons	580	559	638	1777
Persons committed for want of sureties to keep the peace—non-payment of fines—neglect of family, &c.	819	960	996	2775
For want of sureties to appear at the Sessions	192	153	182	527
For disobeying orders in Bastardy	174	151	181	506
Rogues and Vagabonds	620	743	835	2198
				7783

We subjoin, in a note, a table extracted from a very valuable pamphlet published by Mr. Ridgway, entitled "An Enquiry into the State of the Manufacturing Population, and the Causes and Cures of the Evils therein existing,"* by which the reader may be

*1827.

Manufacturing Counties.	Population.	Crime	Crime to Population 1 to	Agricultural Counties.	Population.	Crime	1827. Crime to Population, 1 to
Cheshire	304,130	497	612	Berkshire	143,400	208	690
Lancashire	1,226,600	2459	495	Essex	319,400	451	708
Middlesex	1,295,100	3381	353	Hertford	144,300	205	704
Northumberla	220,500	96	2300	Kent	468,900	632	742
Nottingham	206,300	298	695	Hampshire	314,000	341	920
Stafford	378,600	569	665	Westmoreland	55,800	20	2790
Warwick	310,500	602	515	Wiltshire	245,000	365	671
York	1,321,600	1223	1080	Devonshire	484,200	432	1121
Average		840					1,043

enabled to form a more accurate opinion concerning the relative extent to which crime prevails in Manchester.

There is, however, a licentiousness capable of corrupting the whole body of society, like an insidious disease, which eludes observation, yet is equally fatal in its effects. Criminal acts may be statistically classed—the victims of the law may be enumerated —but the number of those affected with the moral leprosy of vice cannot be exhibited with mathematical precision. Sensuality has no record,* and the relaxation of social obligations may coexist with a half dormant, half restless impulse to rebel against all the preservative principles of society; yet these chaotic elements may long smoulder, accompanied only by partial eruptions of turbulence or crime.

In the absence of direct evidence, we are unwilling that any statements should rest on our personal testimony; but we again refer with confidence to that of an intelligent and impartial observer.†

One other characteristic of the social body, in its present constitution, appears to us too remarkable and important to be entirely overlooked.

Religion is the most distinguished and ennobling

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* No record exists by which the number of illegitimate births can be ascertained. Even this evidence would form a very imperfect rule by which to judge of the comparative prevalence of sensuality.

† "Inquiry into the State of the Manufacturing Population." p. 24. *Ridgway.*

feature of civil communities. Natural attributes of the human mind appear to ensure the culture of some form of worship; and as society rises through its successive stages, these forms are progressively developed, from the grossest observances of superstition, until the truths and dictates of revelation assert their rightful supremacy.

The absence of religious feeling, the neglect of all religious ordinances, we conceive to afford substantive evidence of so great a moral degradation of the community, as generally to ensure a concomitant civic debasement. The social body cannot be constructed like a machine, on abstract principles which merely include physical motions, and their numerical results in the production of wealth. The mutual relation of men is not merely dynamical, nor can the composition of their forces be subjected to a purely mathematical calculation. Political economy, though its object be to ascertain the means of increasing the wealth of nations, cannot accomplish its design, without at the same time regarding their happiness, and as its largest ingredient the cultivation of religion and morality.

With unfeigned regret, we are therefore constrained to add, that the standard of morality is exceedingly debased, and that religious observances are neglected amongst the operative population of Manchester. The bonds of domestic sympathy are too generally relaxed; and as a consequence, the filial and paternal duties are uncultivated. The artizan

has not time to cherish these feelings, by the familiar and grateful arts which are their constant food, and without which nourishment they perish. An apathy benumbs his spirit. Too frequently the father, enjoying perfect health and with ample opportunities of employment, is supported in idleness on the earnings of his oppressed children; and on the other hand, when age and decrepitude cripple the energies of the parents, their adult children abandon them to the scanty maintenance derived from parochial relief.

That religious observances are exceedingly neglected, we have had constant opportunities of ascertaining, in the performance of our duty as Physician to the Ardwick and Ancoats Dispensary, which frequently conducted us to the houses of the poor on Sunday. With rare exceptions, the adults of the vast population of 84,147 contained in Districts Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, spend Sunday either in supine sloth, in sensuality, or in listless inactivity. A certain portion only of the labouring classes enjoys even healthful recreation on that day, and a very small number frequent the places of worship.

Having enumerated so many causes of physical depression, perhaps the most direct proof of the extent to which the effect coexists in natural alliance with poverty, may be derived from the records of the medical charities of the town. During the year preceding July, 1831—21,196 patients were treated at the Royal Infirmary—472 at the House of Recovery—3163 at the Ardwick and Ancoats Dispen-

sary, of (which subtracting one sixth as belonging to the township of Ardwick) 2636 were inhabitants of Manchester—perhaps 2000 at the Workhouse Dispensary, and 1,500 at the Children's—making a total of 28,804, without including the Lock Hospital and the Eye Institution. "If to this sum,"* says Mr. Roberton, engaged in making a similar calculation, "we were further to add the incomparably greater amount of all ranks visited or advised as private patients by the whole body (not a small one) of professional men; those prescribed for by chemists and druggists, scarcely of inferior pretension; and by herb doctors and quacks; those who swallow patent medicines; and lastly the subjects of that ever flourishing branch—domestic medicine; we should be compelled to admit that not fewer, perhaps, than three fourths of the inhabitants of Manchester annually are, or fancy they are, under the necessity of submitting to medical treatment."

Ingenious deductions, by Mr. Roberton, from facts contained in the records of the Lying-in Hospital of Manchester, prove, in a different manner, the extreme dependance of the poor, on the charitable institutions of the town. The average annual number of births, (deduced from a comparison of the last four years,) attended by the officers of the

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* "Remarks on the Health of English Manufacturers, and on the need which exists for the Establishment of Convalescents' Retreats." By J. Roberton.

Lying-in Charity, is four thousand three hundred; and the number of births to the population may be assumed as one in twenty-eight inhabitants. This annual average of births, therefore, represents a population of 124,400, and assuming that of Manchester and the environs to be 230,000, more than one-half of its inhabitants are therefore either so destitute or so degraded, as to require the assistance of public charity, in bringing their offspring into the world.

The children thus adopted by the public, are often neglected by their parents. The early age at which girls are admitted into the factories, prevents their acquiring much knowledge of domestic economy; and even supposing them to have had accidental opportunities of making this acquisition, the extent to which women are employed in the mills, does not, even after marriage, permit the general application of its principles. The infant is the victim of the system; it has not lived long, ere it is abandoned to the care of a hireling or neighbour, whilst its mother pursues her accustomed toil. Sometimes a little girl has the charge of the child, or even of two or three collected from neighbouring houses. Thus abandoned to one whose sympathies are not interested in its welfare, or whose time is too often also occupied in household drudgery, the child is ill-fed, dirty, ill-clothed, exposed to cold and neglect; and, in consequence, more than one-half of the offspring of the poor, (as may be proved by the bills of mortality of the town,) die before they have

completed their fifth year. The strongest survive; but the same causes which destroy the weakest, impair the vigour of the more robust; and hence the children of our manufacturing population are proverbially pale and sallow, though not generally emaciated, nor the subjects of disease. We cannot subscribe to those exaggerated and unscientific accounts of the physical ailments to which they are liable, which have been lately revived with an eagerness and haste equally unfriendly to taste and truth; but we are convinced that the operation of these causes, continuing unchecked through successive generations, would tend to depress the health of the people; and that consequent physical ills would accumulate in an unhappy progression.

We have avoided alluding to evidence which is founded on general opinion, or depends merely on matters of perception; and have chiefly availed ourselves of such as admitted of a statistical classification. We may, however, be permitted to add, that our own experience, confirmed by that of those members of our profession, on whose judgment we can rely with the greatest confidence, induces us to conclude, that diseases assume a lower and more chronic type in Manchester, than in smaller towns and in agricultural districts; and a residence in the Hospitals of Edinburgh, and practice in the Dispensaries amongst the most debased part of its inhabitants, enables us to affirm with confidence that the diseases occurring here admit of less active antiphlogistic or

depletory treatment, than those incident to the degraded population of the old town of that city.

Frequent allusion has been made to the supposed rate of mortality in Manchester, as a standard by which the health of the manufacturing population may be ascertained. From the mortality of towns, however, their comparative health cannot be invariably deduced. There is a state of physical depression which does not terminate in fatal organic changes, which, however, converts existence into a prolonged disease, and is not only compatible with life, but is proverbially protracted to an advanced senility. Even were this untrue, there exists no method of correctly ascertaining the average proportion of deaths in Manchester.* The imperfection of the registers is such, as to baffle the ingenuity of the most zealous inquirer.

Diseases, we have said, assume in this town a comparatively chronic type; and *a general prevalence of such maladies* is compatible with a *low* rate of mortality. Acute diseases (which are eminently fatal) prevail, on the contrary, in a population where the standard of health is high, and attack the most robust and plethoric. Thus, a high rate of mortality may often be observed in a community, where the number of

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* The best calculations on this subject are contained in Dr. Percival's Essays on the Bills of Mortality, and in that of the late Mr. Henry.—*Manchester Literary and Philosophical Transactions.*

persons affected with disease is small; and on the other hand, general physical depression may concur with the prevalence of chronic maladies, and yet be unattended with a great proportion of deaths. We have elsewhere discussed the origin and shown the great prevalence of dyspepsia, gastralgia,* enteralgia, and chronic bronchitis and phthisis,† in Manchester; and this reference to the subject may therefore be sufficient here.

The preceding statements must, we fear, be received as valid evidence that many sources of physical depression exist in Manchester. The Special Board of Health has, in the course of its inquiries, discovered that it possesses very limited means of removing the evils whose existence has been ascertained by the reports of the District Inspectors. More than a thousand houses have been whitewashed. Several additional gangs of scavengers have been employed; and the result of their operations is evident in the improved condition of the public thoroughfares of the town: but to repair and sewer the unpaved streets, courts, &c., and to remove the gross accumulations of filth which they contain, would entail upon the town an expenditure for which the fiscal authorities have been unwilling to become responsible. Letters have also

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* Second Number of the North of England Medical and Surgical Journal; On Gastralgia and Enteralgia.

† Third Number of the North of England Medical and Surgical Journal; On Spinners' Phthisis.

been addressed to the landlords of all houses reported to be out of repair, and of those in which the soughs required repair—which were damp—ill-ventilated—or which had no privies, informing them of the defects reported, and requesting them to assist the Special Board in its efforts to ameliorate the physical condition of the poor, by remedying these evils. The disease of the body politic is not superficial, and cannot be cured, or even temporarily relieved, by any specific: its sources are unfortunately remote, and the measures necessary to the removal of its disorders include serious questions on which great difference of opinion prevails.

Visiting Manchester, the metropolis of the commercial system, a stranger regards with wonder the ingenuity and comprehensive capacity, which, in the short space of half a century, have here established the staple manufacture of this kingdom. He beholds with astonishment the establishments of its merchants —monuments of fertile genius and successful design: —the masses of capital which have been accumulated by those who crowd upon its mart, and the restless but sagacious spirit which has made every part of the known world the scene of their enterprize. The sudden creation of the mighty system of commercial organization which covers this county, and stretches its arms to the most distant seas, attests the power and the dignity of man. Commerce, it appears to such a spectator, here gathers in her storehouses the

productions of every clime, that she may minister to the happiness of a favoured race.

When he turns from the great capitalists, he contemplates the fearful strength only of that multitude of the labouring population, which lies like a slumbering giant at their feet. He has heard of the turbulent riots of the people—of machine breaking —of the secret and sullen organization which has suddenly lit the torch of incendiarism, or well nigh uplifted the arm of rebellion in the land. He remembers that political desperadoes have ever loved to tempt this population to the hazards of the swindling game of revolution, and have scarcely failed. In the midst of so much opulence, however, he has disbelieved the cry of need.

Believing that the natural tendency of unrestricted commerce, is to develop the energies of society, to increase the comforts and luxuries of life, and to *elevate the physical condition* of every member of the social body, we have exposed, with a faithful, though a friendly hand, the condition of the lower orders connected with the manufactures of this town, because we conceive that the evils affecting them result *from foreign and accidental causes.* A system, which promotes the advance of civilization, and diffuses it over the world—which promises to maintain the peace of nations, by establishing a permanent international law, founded on the benefits of commercial association, cannot be inconsistent with the happiness of the *great mass of the people.*

There are men who believe that the labouring classes are condemned for ever, by an inexorable fate, to the unmitigated curse of toil, scarcely rewarded by the bare necessaries of existence, and often visited by the horrors of hunger and disease—that the heritage of ignorance, labour, and misery is entailed upon them as an eternal doom. Such an opinion might appear to receive a gloomy confirmation, were we content with the evidence of fact, derived only from the history of uncivilized races, and of feudal institutions. No modern Rousseau now rhapsodises on the happiness of the state of nature. Moral and physical degradation are inseparable from barbarism. The unsheltered, naked savage, starving on food common to the denizens of the wilderness, never knew the comforts contained in the most wretched cabin of our poor.

Civilization, to which feudality is inimical, but which is most powerfully promoted by commerce, surrounds man with innumerable inventions. It has thus a constant tendency to multiply, without limit, the comforts of existence, and that by an amount of labour, at all times undergoing an indefinite diminution. It continually expands the sphere of his relations, from a dependance on his own limited resources, until it has combined into one mighty league, alike the members of communities, and the powers of the most distant regions. The cultivation of the faculties, the extension of knowledge, the improvement of the arts, enable man to extend his

dominion over matter, and to minister, not merely to all the exigencies, but to the capricious tastes and the imaginary appetites of his nature. When, therefore, every zone has contributed its most precious stores—science has revealed her secret laws—genius has applied the mightiest powers of nature to familiar use, making matter the patient and silent slave of the will of man,—if want prey upon the heart of the people, some accidental barrier must exist, arresting their natural and rightful supply.

The evils affecting the working classes, *so far from being the necessary results of the commercial system, furnish evidence of a disease which impairs its energies, if it does not threaten its vitality.*

The increase of the manufacturing establishments, and the consequent colonization of the district, have been exceedingly more rapid than the growth of its civic institutions. The eager antagonization of commercial enterprize, has absorbed the attention, and concentrated the energies of every member of the community. In this strife, the remote influence of arrangements has sometimes been neglected, not from the want of humanity, but from the pressure of occupation, and the deficiency of time. Thus, some years ago, the internal arrangements of mills (now so much improved) as regarded temperature, ventilation, cleanliness, and the proper separation of the sexes, &c., were such as to be extremely objectionable. The same cause has, we think, chiefly occasioned the want of police regulations, to prevent

the gross neglect of the streets and houses of the poor.

The great and sudden fluctuations to which trade is liable, are often the sources of severe embarrassment. Sometimes the demand for labour diminishes, and its price consequently falls in a corresponding ratio. On the other hand, the existing population has often been totally inadequate to the required production; and capitalists have eagerly invited a supply of labour from distant counties, and the sister kingdom. The colonization of the Irish was thus first encouraged; and has proved one chief source of the demoralization, and consequent physical depression of the people.

The effects of this immigration, even when regarded as a simple economical question, do not merely include an equation of the comparative cheapness of labour; its influence on civilization and morals, as *they tend to affect the production of wealth*, cannot be neglected.

In proof of this, it may suffice to present a picture of the natural progress of barbarous habits. Want of cleanliness, of forethought, and economy, are found in almost invariable alliance with dissipation, reckless habits, and disease. The population gradually becomes physically less efficient as the producers of wealth—morally so from idleness—politically *worthless* as having few desires to satisfy, and *noxious* as dissipators of capital accumulated. Were such manners to prevail, the horrors of pauperism

would accumulate. A debilitated, emasculated race would be rapidly multiplied. Morality would afford no check to the increase of the population: crime and disease would be its only obstacles—the licentiousness which indulges its capricious appetite, till it exhausts its power—and the disease which, at the same moment, punishes crime, and sweeps away a hecatomb of its victims. A dense mass, impotent alike of great moral or physical efforts, would accumulate; children would be born to parents incapable of obtaining the necessaries of life, who would thus acquire, through the mistaken humanity of the law, a new claim for support from the property of the public. They would drag on an unhappy existence, vibrating between the pangs of hunger and the delirium of dissipation—alternately exhausted by severe and oppressive toil, or enervated by supine sloth. Destitution would now prey on their strength, and then the short madness of debauchery would consummate its ruin. Crime which banishes or destroys its victims, and disease and death, are severe but brief natural remedies, which prevent the unlimited accumulation of the horrors of pauperism. Even war and pestilence, when regarded as affecting a population thus demoralized, and politically and physically debased, seem like storms which sweep from the atmosphere the noxious vapours whose stagnation threatens man with death.

Morality is therefore worthy of the attention of the economist, even when considered as simply minis-

tering to the production of wealth. Civilization creates artificial wants, introduces economy, and cultivates the moral and physical capabilities of society. Hence the introduction of an uncivilized race does not tend even primarily to increase the power of producing wealth, in a ratio by any means commensurate with the cheapness of its labour, and may ultimately retard the increase of the fund for the maintenance of that labour. Such a race is useful only as a mass of animal organization, which consumes the smallest amount of wages. The low price of the labour of such people depends, however, on the paucity of their wants, and their savage habits. When they assist the production of wealth, therefore, their barbarous habits and consequent moral depression must form a part of the equation. They are only necessary to a state of commerce *inconsistent* with such a reward for labour, as is calculated to maintain the standard of civilization. A few years pass, and they become burdens to a community whose morals and physical power they have depressed; and dissipate wealth which they did not accumulate. Notwithstanding the evils attendant upon this system, we believe that, so long as the injurious and unjust monopolies and restrictions on trade are continued, the commercial position of the country cannot be maintained, unless the free importation of the cheapest labour be permitted; and we moreover believe that by thus increasing our powers of cheap production and foreign competition, the Irish have

as yet (though at the lamentable expense of the morals and happiness of the people) increased the fund for the maintenance of labour, in a greater ratio than they have dissipated it.

Conscious of the evils resulting from this immigration, we nevertheless tremble at the thought of applying unmodified poor laws to Ireland. In England the system of parochial relief has a most prejudicial influence, in chaining redundant labour to a narrow locality, and thus aggravating the pressure of partial ills, and in relaxing those bonds of the social constitution, industry, forethought, and charity.* Much less could the habits of the Irish be corrected by a parliamentary enactment: and to attempt the removal of their misery, by the constant supply of their wants, would be to offer direct encouragement to idleness, improvidence, and dissipation. It would ultimately render every individual dependant on the State, and change Ireland into a vast infirmary, divided into as many wards as there are parishes, whose endowment would swallow up the entire rental of the country. Such a measure, says Mr. Senior, would †"divide Ireland into as many distinct countries as there are parishes, each peopled by a population *ascripta glebæ;* multiplying without forethought;

* Chalmers's "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns." —"Speech before the General Assembly."—"Political Economy." P. 398, &c. &c.

† Letter to Lord Howick on a Legal Provision for the Irish Poor, &c., &c., p. 33.

impelled to labour principally by the fear of punishment; drawing allowance for their children, and throwing their parents on the parish; considering wages not a matter of contract but of right; attributing every evil to the injustice of their superiors; and, when their own idleness or improvidence has occasioned a fall of wages, avenging it by firing the dwellings, maiming the cattle, or murdering the persons of the landlords and overseers; combining, in short, the insubordination of the freeman with the sloth and recklessness of the slave."

We believe, however, that an impost on the rental of Ireland, might be applied with advantage in employing its redundant labour in great public works—such as draining bogs, making public roads, canals, harbours, &c., by which the entire available capital of the country would be increased, and the people would be trained in industrious habits, and more civilized manners. England would then cease to be, to the same extent as at present, the receptacle of the most demoralized and worthless hordes of the sister country.

The Irish, who were invited to colonize the country, at a period when the demand for labour was greater than the native population could supply, have suffered more than any other class from the introduction of the power-loom. The state of transition in employment consequent on a new invention, (by which the powers of production are increased, its cost diminished, and the demand for a peculiar

kind of labour almost extinguished,) will always be followed by an embarrassment, whose pressure and duration will be determined *cœteris paribus,* by the extent of the market for manufactures. If by the want of commercial treaties—by the imposition of injudicious duties on foreign produce, which provoke jealous retaliation—the existence of arbitrary restrictions and monopolies—the extent of the market for manufactures be diminished, the demand for labour will be confined within the same limits. A new invention will thus be robbed of half its rewards, since we deprive other nations of the power of buying our manufactures, by refusing to accept what they offer in exchange. We depress the spirit of their enterprize; and we discourage our own. The relations of commerce are those of unlimited reciprocity—not of narrow and bigoted exclusion. We encourage genius and industry in proportion as we permit them to receive their reward in the riches of every clime. We dam up not only the well-spring of our own wealth and happiness, but of that of other nations, when we refuse to barter the results of the ingenuity and perseverance of our artizans, for the products of the bounty of other climates, or the arts and genius of other people. Unrestricted commerce, on the other hand, would rapidly promote the advance of civilization, by cultivating the physical and mental power of individuals and nations, to multiply the amount of natural products, and to create those artificial staple com-

modities, by the barter of which they acquire the riches of other regions. Every new invention in agriculture or manufactures—every improvement in the powers of transition, would enable its possessors, by the same amount of labour, to obtain a greater quantity of foreign products in exchange. The labour of man would be constantly to an indefinite extent diminished,* whilst its reward would be, at the same time, perpetually increased. Human power would be employed "in its noblest occupation, that of giving a direction to the mere physical power which it had conquered."†

But under a restrictive system, the demand for the results of labour is limited, not by the wants of the whole world, but of the market from which commodities are received in exchange. Even then, as civilization multiplies the desires, and stimulates the industry and ingenuity of man, the quantity of products permitted to be bartered for our manufactures has a constant tendency to increase. Unfortunately, however, the restrictions which fetter commerce are so numerous, and the monopolies which exclude free trade from the fairest portions of the earth are so ex-

* Observations on the Influence of Machinery upon the Working Classes of the Community, By John Kennedy, Esq., Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, vol. v. second series.—*also* An Essay on the General Principles which regulate the Application of Machinery to Manufactures and Mechanical Arts, By Charles Babbage, Esq.—Encyclopædia Metropolitana, part xxii.

† Results of Machinery, p. 193.

tensive, as to render the progressive increase in the demand for the results of our labour and capital slow. Population, nevertheless, increases the supply of labour in at least as great a ratio as the demand existing under a restrictive system. Every invention, therefore, which diminishes the quantity of labour necessary to produce the objects of barter, lessens its price, and excludes, for an indefinite period, a great part of the population from employment. By this system the profits of capital are increased, though not in the same ratio as the wages of labour are for a time diminished. But, were the restrictions abolished, each new invention would not only enable man to purchase, by a smaller amount of labour, a larger portion of foreign products, but would, by these means, powerfully stimulate the genius and industry of other nations, whose demand for our manufactures would increase in a ratio at least equal to their accumulation. In other words, improvements in machinery *diminish the cost of production;* but if the demand for manufactures be limited by arbitrary enactments, *the increased employment* which would also be their natural and inevitable result, *is prevented,* until commerce is able, in some other way, to compensate for the evils of injudicious legislation. We have *capital and labour*—but to obtain the greatest amount of commercial advantages, we must also have an *unlimited power of exchange.*

We believe, therefore, that chiefly to *this cause* must be attributed the combined misery of severe labour

and want entailed on that wretched but extensive class, the hand-loom weavers of the cotton trade.

Were an unlimited exchange permitted to commerce, the existence of redundant labour would be an evil of brief duration, rarely experienced. The unpopular, but alas, too necessary proposals of emigration would no longer be agitated. The ingenuity and industry of the people would draw from the whole world a tribute more than adequate to supply the ever increasing demands of a civilized population.

This unjust system is not merely accompanied by economical evils affecting the accumulation and distribution of wealth. The moral and physical depression of the people, which we deplore, may be traced to this fruitful source. Commerce fettered with monopolies and restrictions struggles beneath the load of an enormous taxation. "The scarcity and dearness of food" in the words of the Quarterly Review* "indirectly, but severely, affect most of the superior classes; the consumers of other commodities, through their diminished production; capitalists, through the consequent narrowing of their market; and society at large by the burden it must endure of supporting the unemployed hands, and the insecurity of property which results from the near approach to destitution of a large proportion of its members." Industry, invention, the most subtle sagacity, and the most daring enterprize appear at length, almost

* Quarterly Review, No. xci. p. 353.

baffled by the difficulties they encounter. The profits of capital are reduced to the most meager attenuation—the rapidity of production, of transmission and return, appear to have reached their utmost limit. Injudicious duties on foreign produce have provoked retaliation, and the manufactures of other countries are supported by artificial expedients in rivalry with our own. The difficulty of changing the system is every day increased, until, ere long, it may become a serious question with other countries, whether the advantages to be derived from free trade can compensate for the sacrifice of the capital embarked in their commercial establishments. The cotton manufacture is rapidly spreading all over the continent, and particularly in Switzerland and France; and America threatens us with a more formidable competition.

Under these circumstances, every part of the system appears necessary to the preservation of the whole. The profits of trade will not allow a greater remuneration for labour, and competition even threatens to reduce its price. *Whatever time is subtracted from the hours of labour must be accompanied with an equivalent deduction from its rewards,* and we fear that the condition of the working classes cannot be much improved, until the burdens and restrictions of the commercial system are abolished.

Those political speculators who propose a serious reduction* of the hours of labour, unpreceded by

* The effect of one of these schemes is thus correctly described in an able and perspicuous pamphlet lately published, entitled

the relief of commercial burdens, and unaccompanied by the introduction of a *general system of education*, appear to us deluded by a theoretical chimera. The time thus bestowed would be wasted or misused—would be spent in sloth, in dissipation, or in listening with eager and ignorant wonder to the declamatory dogmatism of political demagogues. Diseases are no longer instantly cured by incantations, charms, and specifics; and the distempers of society cannot be suddenly dissipated by the nostrums of political quacks. To retrace the upward path from evil and misery is difficult. Health is only acquired after disease, by passing through slow and painful stages. Neither can the evils which affect the operative population be instantly relieved by the exhibition of any single notable remedy.

A general and effective system of education must

"A Letter to Lord Althorp in Defence of the Cotton Factories of Lancashire, By Holland Hoole."

"If Mr. Sadler's bill becomes a law, the masters will have the choice of two evils. Either they must reduce the hours of labour to the limit proposed to be fixed for children, (fifty eight hours per week) or they must place their establishments without the pale of this enactment, by discharging all persons under eighteen years from their factories."

"In the former case a reduction of the *wages* of all persons employed, whether children or adults, corresponding with the reduction of the time of labour must inevitably take place." "Not a few of the master cotton spinners have determined to adopt the other course above mentioned, namely, to *discharge* from their employment all the hands under eighteen years of age, as soon as the proposed law comes into operation."

be devised—a more intimate and cordial association must be cultivated between the capitalist and those in his employ—the poor must be instructed in habits of forethought and economy; and, in combination with these great and general efforts to ameliorate their condition, when the restrictions of commerce have been abolished, a reduction in the hours of labour will tend to elevate the moral and physical condition of the people.

We are desirous of adding a few observations on each of these measures. Ere the moral and physical condition of the operative can be much elevated, a general system of education must be introduced, not confined to the mere elementary rudiments of knowledge. He should be instructed in the nature of his domestic and social relations, of his political position in society, and of the moral and religious duties appropriate to it.* His education should comprise such branches of general knowledge as might prove sources of rational amusement, and a familiar exposition of such portions of the exact sciences, as are connected with his occupation.

"In the † highest questions there is always a point of view, in which they may be presented to all the

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* Chalmers on Political Economy, p. 26.—*also* p. 71, "Nothing will more effectually demonstrate the supremacy of the moral over the physical, in the system of human affairs, than will the ameliorated condition coming in the train of ameliorated character, after the tried impotency of all other expedients."

† Madame de Stael.

world." "The great * principles of that science which is generally known by the name of 'Political Economy,' ought certainly not to be sealed to the understanding of those who are chiefly affected by the operation of those principles—those, namely, who obtain a living by their labour. Matters affecting the interests of every human being, and involving a variety of facts having a relation to the condition of mankind in every age and country, are not necessarily, as has been supposed, dry and difficult to understand, and consequently only to be approached by systematic students.

"If we † would really improve the condition of the lower classes—if we would give them better habits, as well as make them better workmen—we ought to endeavour to make them acquainted with the principles that must determine their condition in life. The poor ought to be taught, that they are in a great measure the architects of their own fortune; that what others can do for them is trifling indeed, compared with what they can do for themselves; that they are infinitely more interested in the preservation of the public tranquillity than any other class of society; that mechanical inventions and discoveries are always supremely advantageous to them; and that their real interests can only be effectually pro-

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* Working Man's Companion, Capital and Labour.

† Mc Culloch "On the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the British Cotton Manufacture," Edinburgh Review, No. xci.

moted by their displaying greater prudence and forethought."

Much good * would result from a more general and cordial association of the higher and lower orders. In Liverpool a charitable society exists denominated the "Provident," whose members include a great number of the most influential inhabitants. The town is subdivided into numerous districts, the inspection and care of each of which is committed to one or two members of the association. They visit the people in their houses—sympathize with their distresses, and minister to the wants of the necessitous; but above all, they acquire, by their charity, the right of inquiring into their arrangements —of instructing them in domestic economy—of recommending sobriety, cleanliness, forethought, and method.

Every capitalist might contribute much to the happiness of those in his employ, by a similar exercise of enlightened charity. He might establish provident associations and libraries amongst his people. Cleanliness, and a proper attention to clothing and diet† might be enforced. He has frequent opportunities of discouraging the vicious, and of admonishing the improvident. By visiting the houses of the operatives, he might advise the multiplication of household com-

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* An Address to the Higher Classes on the present State of Feeling among the Working Classes.

† True Theory of Rent, By T. Perronnet Thomson, Esq.

forts and the culture of the domestic sympathies. Principle and interest admonish him to receive none into his employ, unless they can produce the most satisfactory attestations to their character.

Above all he should provide instruction for the children of his workpeople: he should stimulate the appetite for useful knowledge, and supply it with appropriate food.

Happily, the effect of such a system is not left to conjecture. In large towns serious obstacles oppose its introduction; but in Manchester more than one enlightened capitalist confesses its importance, and has made preparations for its adoption. In the country, the facilities are greater; and many establishments might be indicated, which exhibit the results of combined benevolence and intelligence. One example may suffice.

Twelve hundred persons are employed in the factories of Mr. Thomas Ashton, of Hyde. This gentleman has erected commodious dwellings for his workpeople, with each of which he has connected every convenience that can minister to comfort. He resides in the immediate vicinity, and has frequent opportunities of maintaining a cordial association with his operatives. Their houses are well furnished, clean, and their tenants exhibit every indication of health and happiness. Mr. Ashton has also built a school, where 640 children, chiefly belonging to his establishment, are instructed on Sunday, in reading, writing, arithmetic, &c. A library, connected with

this school, is eagerly resorted to, and the people frequently read after the hours of labour have expired. An infant school is, during the week, attended by 280 children, and in the evenings others are instructed by masters selected for the purpose. The factories themselves are certainly excellent examples of the cleanliness and order which may be attained, by a systematic and persevering attention to the habits of the artizans.

The effects of such enlightened benevolence may be, to a certain extent, exhibited by statistical statements. The population, before the introduction of machinery, chiefly consisted of colliers, hatters, and weavers. Machinery was introduced in 1801, and the following table exhibits its consequences in the augmentation of the value of property, the diminution of poor rates, and the rapid increase of the amount assessed for the repairs of the highway, during a period, in which the population of the township increased from 830 to 7138.—

Township of Hyde, in the Parish of Stockport, in the County of Chester.

Year.	Estimated value of property assessable to the Poor's Rate		Sums assessed for the Relief of the Poor.			Sums assessed for the Repairs of the Highway.			Population	REMARKS.
	£.	s.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.		
1801	693	10	533	12	0	2	11	6	830	Machinery introduced.
2	697	0	394	19	4	51	19	5		
3	697	0	336	8	0	52	3	0¾		
4	697	10	325	10	0	52	5	9¾		
5	724	0	385	17	4	100	6	11½		
6	786	0	339	6	0	110	12	11½		
7	829	0	276	6	8	172	7	9½		
8	898	10	223	1	4	177	6	10		
9	915	0	286	16	8	152	17	9		
1810	935	0	345	10	0	146	18	3½		
1	945	10	417	6	4	199	19	3½	1806	
2	975	15	471	8	4	168	11	1		Riots, Machinery broken in various places.
3	986	0	687	7	8	148	18	11¼		
4	997	0	630	6	8	144	18	8¼		Power Looms introduced.
5	1029	15	508	18	0	99	9	3½		
6	1079	5	390	2	0	156	9	5¼		
7	1109	15	502	3	6	150	2	8½		
8	1142	0	421	2	0	171	15	9		
9	1242	0	431	6	0	201	8	7½		
1820	1272	0	355	4	8	229	11	7		
1	1371	15	274	7	0	265	1	1	3355	New County Rate made: from this time the County Rate, together with the salary of the serving officer, average £200. per annum.
2	1429	5	435	10	6	440	12	0¾		
3	1570	0	479	8	0	454	8	8¾		
4	1792	0	348	17	0	506	2	2½		
5	1957	0	398	11	0	524	19	3½		
6	2093	10	438	7	6	573	10	7¾		
7	2354	15	479	6	3	598	10	5		
8	2533	0	502	7	4	732	4	3½		
9	2623	0	790	11	9	681	19	6½		Vestry built this year.
1830	2727	0	549	16	0	578	10	1		
1	2783	0	*834	18	9	359	5	5½	7138	
Total in 31 yrs.			13994	13	7	8405	19	7		
Average.....			451	10	0	271	7	2		

* A considerable balance in the Overseer's hands.

This table exhibits a cheering proof of the advantages which may be derived from the commercial system, under judicious management. We feel much confidence in inferring that where so little pauperism exists, the taint of vice has not deeply infected the population, and concerning their health we can speak from personal observation. The rate of mortality, from statements* with which Mr. Ashton has politely

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**Minute of Deaths among the Spinners, Piecers, and Dressers, employed at the works of Mr. Thomas Ashton, in Hyde, from* 1819 *to* 1832, 13 *years, viz :*—SPINNERS. Rd. Robinson, James Seville, David Cordingly, Eli Taylor. PIECERS. Jas. Rowbotham, Wm. Green. DRESSERS. John Cocker, Samuel Broadhurst.

There are employed at these works 61 rovers and spinners, 120 piecers, and 38 dressers: total 219; among whom there are at this time 10 spinners whose ages are respectively from forty up to fifty six years; and among the dressers there are 12 whose ages are equal to that of the above spinners. We have no orphans at this place, neither have we any family receiving parochial relief; nor can we recollect the time when there was any such. The different clubs or sick lists among the spinners, dressers, overlookers and mechanics employed here, allow ten or twelve shillings per week to the members during sickness, and from six to eight pounds to a funeral; which applies also to the member's wife, and, in some cases, one half or one fourth to the funeral of a child. The greatest amount of contributions to these funds have in no one year exceeded five shillings and sixpence from each member.

The weavers (chiefly young women) have also a funeral club, the contributions to which are fourpence per member to each funeral. In the above period of thirteen years there have happened among them only forty funerals.

Total number of persons employed, twelve hundred, who maintain about two thousand. JOSEPH TINKER, Book-keeper.

Hyde, 27th March, 1832.

furnished us, appears to be exceedingly low. In thirteen years (during the first six of which, the number of rovers, spinners, piecers and dressers was one hundred, and during the last seven, above two hundred,) only eight deaths occurred, though the same persons were, with rare exceptions, employed during the whole period. Supposing, for the sake of convenience, that the deaths were nine; then by ascribing three to the first six years, and six to the last seven, the mortality during the former period was one in 200, and during the latter one in 233. The number of weavers during the first six years was 200, and during the last seven 400, and in this body of workmen 40 deaths occurred in thirteen years. By ascribing thirteen of these deaths to the first six years, and twenty seven to the last seven, the mortality, during the former period, was one in 92, and during the latter, 1 in 103.

These facts indicate that the present hours of labour do not injure the health of a population, *otherwise favourably situated*, but that, when evil results ensue, they must chiefly be ascribed to the combination of this *with other causes of moral and physical depression.*

Capitalists, whose establishments are situated in the country, enjoy many opportunities of controling the habits and ministering to the comforts of those in their employ, which cannot exist in a large manufacturing town. In the former, the land in the vicinity is generally the property of the manufacturer,

and upon this he may build commodious houses, and surround the operative with all the conveniences and attractions of a home. In the town, the land is often in the possession of non-resident proprietors, anxious only to obtain the largest amount of chief rent. It is therefore let in separate lots to avaricious speculators, who (unrestrained by any general enactment, or special police regulation) build, without plan, wretched abodes in confused groups, intersected by narrow, unpaved or undrained streets and courts. By this disgraceful system the moral and physical condition of the poor undergoes an inevitable depression.

In Manchester *" it is much to be regretted that the surveyors of highways, or some other body of gentlemen specially appointed, were not, forty years ago, invested with authority to regulate the laying out of building-land within the precincts of the town, and to enforce the observance of certain conditions, on the part of the owners and lessees of such property." Private rights ought not to be exercised so as to produce a public injury. The law, which describes and punishes offences against the person and property of the subject, should extend its authority by establishing a social code, in which the rights of communities should be protected from the assaults of partial interests. By exercising its functions in the former case, it does not wantonly interfere with

* Dr. Lyon on the Medical Topography and Statistics of Manchester.—*North of England Medical and Surgical Journal*, vol. i. page 17.

the liberty of the subject, nor in the latter, would it violate the reverence due to the sacred security of property.

The powers obtained by the recent changes in the police act of Manchester are retrospective, and exclusively refer to the removal of existing evils: their application must also necessarily be slow. We conceive that special police regulations should be framed for the purpose of preventing the recurrence of that gross neglect of decency and violation of order, whose effects we have described.

Streets should be built according to plans determined (after a conference with the owners) by a body of commissioners, specially elected for the purpose—their width should bear a certain relation to the size and elevation of the houses erected. Landlords should be compelled, on the erection of any house, to provide sufficient means of drainage, and each to pave his respective area of the street. Each habitation should be provided with a due receptacle for every kind of refuse, and the owner should be obliged to white-wash the house, at least once every year. Inspectors of the state of houses should be appointed; and the repair of all those, reported to be in a state inconsistent with the health of the inhabitants, should be enforced at the expense of the landlords. If the rents of houses are not sufficient to remunerate the owners for this repair, their situation must in general be such, or their dilapidation so extreme, as to render them so undesirable to the comfort, or so preju-

dicial to the health of the tenants, that they ought no longer to be inhabited.

Sources of physical depression, arising from the neglect of these arrangements, abound to such an extent in Manchester, that it has been sagaciously suggested that some powerful counteracting causes must also be in operation, or we should otherwise frequently be subjected to the visitation of fatal epidemic diseases. What all those causes may be it would perhaps be vain to speculate, but it might be demonstrated that the establishment of the House of Recovery has had a most salutary influence in checking the spread of typhus fever.

Distrust of the capitalists has long been sown in the minds of the working classes—separation has succeeded to suspicion, and many causes have tended to widen the gulph over which the golden chain of charity too seldom extends. We would not have this so. The contest, thus engendered, too often assumes an appalling aspect. Capital is but accumulated labour: their strife is unnatural. Greed does not become the opulent; nor does turbulence the poor. The general combinations * of workmen to protect the price of labour are ultimately destined to have a beneficial influence on trade, by the destruction of partial monopolies and petty oppressions, but in these contests the poisonous shafts of personal malice should not be launched; much

* In a pamphlet entitled "Combinations of Trades."

less, should the struggle issue in the barbarous destruction of property, or in daring assaults on the liberty of the subject.

The tendency to these excesses would be much diminished, did a cordial sympathy unite the higher with the lower classes of society. The intelligence of the former should be the fountain whence this should flow. If the *results* of labour be solely regarded, in the connexion of the capitalist with those in his employ, the first step is taken towards treating them as a mere animal power necessary to the mechanical processes of manufacture. This is a heartless, if not a degrading association. The contract for the rewards of labour conducted on these principles issues in suspicion, if not in rancorous animosity.

The operative population constitutes one of the most important elements of society, and when numerically considered, the magnitude of its interests and the extent of its power assume such vast proportions, that the folly which neglects them is allied to madness. If the higher classes are unwilling to diffuse intelligence among the lower, those exist who are ever ready to take advantage of their ignorance; if they will not seek their confidence, others will excite their distrust; if they will not endeavour to promote domestic comfort, virtue, and knowledge among them, their misery, vice, and prejudice will prove volcanic elements, by whose explosive violence the structure of society may be destroyed.

TABLE of the number of Irish cases without Settlements, and of all cases that have obtained Settlements, and hence denominated English, (whether English or Irish,) which received Parochial Relief in the Township of Manchester, in the four winter months of the years 1827-8, 1828-9, 1829-30, 1830-31, *and of the sums thus expended.*

No. 1.		NEWTOWN.				ANCOATS.				CENTRAL.				PORTLAND STREET.			
		No. of Cases.	*Amount pd.*			*No. of Cases.*	*Amount pd.*			*No. of Cases.*	*Amount pd*			*No. of Cases.*	*Amount pd*		
			L.	*s.*	*d.*		*L.*	*s.*	*d.*		*L.*	*s.*	*d.*		*L.*	*s.*	*d.*
1827 and 1828.																	
November.	English	1456	208	18	3	English 1694	207	17	0	English 1818	245	13	0	English 1670	226	3	6
	Irish	369	54	10	6	Irish 348	38	0	6	Irish				Irish			
December.	English	1534	204	12	0	English 1708	209	11	6	English 1874	246	10	6	English 1732	229	9	0
	Irish	396	52	17	6	Irish 379	41	10	6	Irish				Irish			
January.	English	1561	213	1	2	English 1674	205	8	0	English 1911	262	2	6	English 1738	237	9	0
	Irish	400	54	14	6	Irish 386	42	3	6	Irish 195	19	19	0	Irish 133	12	17	0
February.	English	1508	210	2	6	English 1625	193	9	0	English 1819	232	8	6	English 1724	223	19	0
‡ Irish.	Irish	394	51	14	0	Irish 369	39	10	0	Irish 171	16	19	6	Irish 131	13	1	6
1828 and 1829.		7618	1050	10	5	8183	977	10	0	7788	1023	13	0	7128	932	19	0
November.	English	1291	153	9	6	English 1620	191	1	6	English 1684	208	7	9½	English 1689	205	18	0
	Irish	309	34	0	6	Irish 488	56	12	0	Irish 122	12	5	0	Irish 144	14	10	0
December.	English	1339	159	7	6	English 1701	207	18	6	English 1784	216	17	0	English 1737	211	8	0
	Irish	342	37	2	0	Irish 507	57	4	6	Irish 134	15	7	0	Irish 130	15	5	6
January.	English	1347	161	8	0	English 1836	221	8	0	English 1847	231	0	3	English 1748	219	19	6
	Irish	365	39	7	0	Irish 547	62	9	0	Irish 133	15	6	3	Irish 147	15	8	0
February.	English	1457	179	1	0	English 2001	244	4	0	English 1847	236	4	0	English 1800	227	6	0
	Irish	474	55	7	6	Irish 613	72	4	6	Irish 143	15	9	6	Irish 156	16	4	6
1829 and 1830.		6924	819	3	0	9313	1113	2	0	7694	950	16	9½	7551	925	19	6
November.	English	2053	292	2	1	English 2069	245	9	6	English 2278	329	5	6	English 2030	269	0	0
	Irish	930	114	19	6	Irish 639	68	5	6	Irish 166	19	19	0	Irish 228	22	6	0
December.	English	1997	285	14	6	English 1960	228	5	0	English 2346	320	13	3	English 2121	282	5	0
	Irish	985	122	3	4	Irish 640	65	5	0	Irish 168	19	14	6	Irish 259	24	2	6
January.	English	1931	267	15	2	English 1934	231	14	1½	English 2481	363	6	5	English 2150	278	19	6
	Irish	961	127	18	10	Irish 694	74	5	7½	Irish 198	23	8	6	Irish 320	28	16	0
February.	English	2042	290	11	11	English 2059	245	9	11	English 2563	365	9	3	English 2290	307	2	9
	Irish	1035	137	8	9	Irish 717	80	6	0	Irish 210	25	18	0	Irish 379	34	9	6
1830 and 1831.		11934	1638	14	1	10712	1239	0	8	10410	1467	14	5	9777	1247	1	3
November.	English	2065	322	1	6	English 2210	278	1	6½	English 2395	321	15	1	English 1765	202	5	6
	Irish	925	125	8	6	Irish 925	125	8	6	Irish 204	24	9	6	Irish 230	23	1	6
December.	English	2374	360	9	5	English 2333	314	5	10	English 2597	351	3	9½	English 1864	225	12	8
	Irish	1128	157	17	6	Irish 978	107	5	0	Irish 233	30	10	2	Irish 289	29	1	6
January.	English	2477	428	14	4	English 2328	336	3	8½	English 2673	377	8	10	English 1984	242	12	10½
	Irish	1022	146	4	6	Irish 994	107	9	0	Irish 243	32	10	0	Irish 304	30	17	0
February.	English	2213	335	2	6	English 2201	278	7	8	English 2549	348	1	6	English 1967	231	8	0
	Irish	976	133	3	3	Irish 921	96	8	0	Irish 229	29	0	6	Irish 291	30	19	6
		13180	2009	1	6	12890	1643	9	3	11123	1514	19	4½	8694	1015	18	6½

PAROCHIAL RELIEF administered in the year 1831, *in the TOWNSHIP of MANCHESTER.*

No. 2.		NEWTOWN.				ANCOATS.				CENTRAL.				PORTLAND STREET.			
1831.		*No. of Cases.*	*Amount paid.* £.	*s.*	*d.*	*No. of Cases.*	*Amount paid.* £.	*s.*	*d.*	*No. of Cases.*	*Amount paid.* £.	*s.*	*d.*	*No. of Cases.*	*Amount paid.* £.	*s.*	*d.*
March.	English	2037	285	12	8	English 1943	250	19	6	English 2430	334	19	4	English 1764	199	3	10
	Irish	1099	138	2	4	Irish 804	86	6	6	Irish 226	28	8	6	Irish 236	25	0	6
April.	English	2022	317	3	4½	English 1917	264	8	6	English 2379	332	4	0½	English 1769	213	5	0
	Irish	984	127	16	9	Irish 806	85	15	0	Irish 202	23	18	2	Irish 230	25	3	0
May.	English	1931	293	16	6	English 1961	254	7	6	English 2285	314	6	9½	English 1735	204	14	2½
	Irish	902	116	11	6	Irish 841	88	14	0	Irish 180	21	12	2	Irish 214	21	9	0
June.	English	1968	286	6	8	English 1980	249	4	6	English 2380	327	15	10	English 1782	207	2	6
	Irish	911	117	7	6	Irish 882	94	1	0	Irish 207	24	3	0	Irish 217	21	13	6
		11854	1682	17	3½		11134	1373	16	6	10289	1403	7	10	7947	917	11	6½
July.	English	1986	306	14	10½	English 1969	275	18	6	English 2378	323	15	0	English 1730	218	5	8
	Irish	888	117	7	2	Irish 856	92	12	6	Irish 199	25	1	0	Irish 220	24	10	7½
August.	English	1987	291	8	11½	English 2024	271	1	9	English 2324	305	15	8	English 1687	205	8	6
	Irish	856	115	19	10	Irish 813	83	10	6	Irish 175	21	6	6	Irish 227	24	12	0
Septemb.	English	2086	294	3	11	English 2023	274	18	4½	English 2284	307	18	6	English 1754	201	12	6
	Irish	856	110	0	6	Irish 823	85	1	0	Irish 152	16	19	0	Irish 205	20	3	6
October.	English	1937	289	10	10	English 2091	258	19	2	English 2301	312	10	2	English 1732	179	7	6
	Irish	809	106	1	9	Irish 788	80	12	0	Irish 169	19	4	2	Irish 211	20	17	0
		11405	1631	7	10		11387	1422	19	9½	9982	1332	10	0	7766	894	7	3½

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James Philips
The moral and physical condition of the working classes employed in the cotton manufacture in Manchester